

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 SP-02 ISO-00 /018 W

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R 160722Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 118

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ISLAMABAD 4406

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XD, XC

SUBJ: REPERCUSSIONS IN SOUTH ASIA OF EVENTS IN
INDO-CHINA

REF: STATE 107027 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: GOP HAS VIEWED STRUGGLES IN INDO-CHINA IN
TERMS OF "ASIAN NATIONALISM" ASSERTING ITSELF AND SEES
FALL OF SAIGON AND PHNOM PENH AS ENHANCING CHINESE
INFLUENCE IN ASIA AND INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. INDO-CHINA
SEEMS DISTANT FROM CENTER OF GOP CONCERNS WHICH REMAIN
FOCUSSED ON ITS SECURITY VIS-A-VIS INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN AND
ON THE ROLE US, USSR AND CHINA PLAY IN SOUTH ASIA.

PRIMARY FEAR HERE IS THAT INDO-CHINESE DEFEATS WILL
CAUSE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO SETTLE INTO ISOLATIONISM AND
PREVENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION FROM FULFILLING SECURITY
COMMITMENTS TO OTHER ALLIES -- INCLUDING PAKISTAN. GOP
BELIEVES THAT SINCE PAKISTAN HAS SUPPORTED WINNING (I.E.,
CHINESE) SIDE THAT NEW INDO-CHINESE GOVERNMENTS WILL BE
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WELL DISPOSED TWARD GOP. GOP SEES NO CHANGE IN COM-

PARATIVE STRENGTHS OF MAJOR POWERS IN SOUTH ASIA AS
RESULT OF INDO-CHINA EVENTS EXCEPT FOR ENHANCED CHINESE
IMAGE. EMBASSY DOES NOT FORESEE ANY CHANGE IN GOP
RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS OR CHINESE NOR ANY IMPROVED
PROSPECTS FOR TROUBLED SOUTH ASIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS.
END SUMMARY.

1. INTRODUCTION: GOP'S REACTIONS TO EVENTS IN INDO-CHINA
WILL BE BASED ON ITS VIEW OF WORLD THROUGH "THIRD WORLD"
GLASSES, ITS GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION IN ASIA AND ITS
PERCEPTIONS OF ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. PRIME MINISTER
BHUTTO AND MOST PAKISTANIS SEE THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH
EAST ASIA ESSENTIALLY IN TERMS OF "ASIAN NATIONALISM"
ASSERTING ITSELF AND SEEKING TO FREE ITSELF FROM WESTERN
DOMINATION. THE GOP APPEARS CONVINCED CHINA IS NOT
EXPANSIONIST AND PRIME MINISTER DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE
CONCERNED ABOUT THE IDEOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE NEW
COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN INDO-CHINA. PAKS SEEM NOT TO
BE AWARE OF EXTENT OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HANOI AND
PEKING AND DO NOT FORESEE RIVALRY DEVELOPING BETWEEN
THE TWO. INDO-CHINA SEEMS FAR AWAY, ESPECIALLY SINCE
THE LOSS OF EAST PAKISTAN, AND GOP PERCEIVES LITTLE
DIRECT EFFECT ON PAK INTERESTS OF RECENT EVENTS IN SEA
EXCEPT FOR INDIRECT BENEFITS ACCRUING FROM ITS LONGTIME
CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH CHINESE WHO ARE SEEN AS BEING
STRENGTHENED AS RESULT OF INDO-CHINESE EVENTS.

2. GOP SECURITY CONCERNS STILL CENTER ON INDIA AND
AFGHANISTAN AND ROLE THAT MIGHT BE PLAYED BY MAJOR POWERS
IN SOUTH ASIA IN PERIOD FOLLOWING FALL OF SAIGON AND
PHNOM PENH. SOVIETS ARE SEEN AS POTENTIAL THREAT TO
PAK SECURITY, THE CHINESE AS RELIABLE ALLY WITH LIMITED
RESOURCES. U.S. SEEN AS HAVING SUFFICIENT RESOURCES TO
NEUTRALIZE SOVIETS BUT GOP BELIEVES AMERICAN NON-
PARTISAN STANCE IN SOUTH ASIA MEANS GOP CANNOT READILY
EXPECT USG TO COME TO ITS AID IN CASE OF REGIONAL
DISPUTES. THERE IS AWARENESS AT TOP LEVELS OF GOP OF
SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY FOR INFLUENCE OVER HANOI. SUCCESS
OF COMMUNISTS IN INDO-CHINA SEEN HERE TO BOOST CHINESE
PRESTIGE. MINISTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR GENERAL
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FOR EAST ASIA, SALIMUZZAMAN, TOLD EMBOFF MAY 13 THAT
HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT WITH END OF NORTH VIETNAMESE
HEAVY DEPENDENCE ON SOVIETS FOR SOPHISTICATED AND COSTLY
MILITARY EQUIPMENT, SOVIETS' INFLUENCE WOULD DIMINISH
WHILE HANOI'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA WOULD REMAIN CORDIAL.
BHUTTO, IN RECENT SPEECHES, HAS PREDICTED THAT CHINESE
INFLUENCE WILL BE ASCENDANT, INCREASINGLY PRE-
PONDERANT, IN ASIA. (THIS MAY REPRESENT WISHFUL THINKING,

BE DESIGNED TO PLEASE CHINESE, OR TO ERASE PAST IMAGE IN THIRD WORLD OF PAKISTAN AS WESTERN "LACKEY".) IMAGE OF AMERICAN WORLD POWER HAS BEEN DAMAGED ALTHOUGH TOP GOP OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD SEVERAL EMBOFFS THAT THEY DO NOT SEE SEA EVENTS AS "DEBACLE" FOR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. BHUTTO HAS SAID PRIVATELY HE THOUGHT PAKISTAN WOULD BECOME MORE IMPORTANT TO THE U.S. AS AMERICAN ATTENTION (AND RESOURCES) WERE TURNED WESTWARD WHERE HE SEES IMPORTANT ROLE FOR GOP TO PLAY IN GULF AND MIDDLE EAST.

3. THE PRIMARY FEAR HERE IS THAT INDO-CHINESE DEFEATS WILL CAUSE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO SETTLE INTO ISOLATIONISM AND PREVENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION FROM FULFILLING SECURITY COMMITMENTS TO OTHER ALLIES. OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO GOP IS THAT U.S. COMMITMENT TO PAKISTAN'S SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY REMAIN SUFFICIENTLY CREDIBLE TO ACT AS A DETERRENT TO SOVIETS AND TO PAKISTAN'S NEIGHBORS.

4. WITH ABOVE IN MIND, EMBASSY HAS FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON QUESTIONS REAISED IN REFTEL (RESPONSES ARE KEYED TO PARAGRAPHS IN REFTEL):

A.1. GOP BELIEVES THAT SINCE PAKISTAN HAS SUPPORTED "WINNING" (I.E., CHINESE) SIDE THAT NEW INDO-CHINESE GOVERNMENTS WILL BE WELL DISPOSED TOWARD GOP. AS RESULT

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 SP-02 ISO-00 /018 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 119

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

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OF PRC PRESSURE, AND DESPITE HIGH LEVEL USG COUNTER EFFORTS, GOP HAS RECOGNIZED AND SUPPORTED SIHANOUK GOVERNMENT AT INTERNATIONAL FORUMS SINCE JANUARY 1973. IN ABOUT NOVEMBER, 1972, DE JQSE RECOGNITION LS ACCORDED AND PAK AMBASSADOR APPOINTED TO NORTH VIETNAM (AND NORTH KOREA). GOP MAINTAINED DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT UNTIL AFTER RECENT FALL OF SAIGON. AT THAT TIME, HOWEVER, IT HASTILY ACCORDED DE JURE RECOGNITION TO THE PRG (ISLAMABAD 3958) AND SPOKE IN SUPPORT OF IT IN SEVERAL INTERNATIONAL FORUMS.

A.2. GOP PERCEPTION OF FUTURE EVENTS IN ASIA ARE MIXED. BHUTTO IN HIS KABUL SPEECH (ISLAMABAD 3527) SPOKE OF THE "SHADOW" OF INDO-CHINA REACHING AS FAR AS NEPAL AND BANGLADESH. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SAID PRIVATELY THAT HE FEARS INCREASED INSURGENCY IN THAILAND AND BURMA. FLARE-UPS IN KOREA OR TAIWAN WERE ALSO MENTIONED AS TROUBLESOME POSSIBILITIES IN AFTERMATH OF COMMUNIST VICTORIES IN INDO-CHINA. SALIMUZZAMAN, HOWEVER, FELT THAT TREND WOULD BE TOWARDS GREATER NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN SEA COUNTRIES AND PRC AS AMERICAN
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MILITARY PRESENCE IS REDUCED, BASES WITHDRAWN. PHILIPPINES, THAILAND, SINGAPORE, ETC., HAVE MOVED IN THIS DIRECTION. IN KOREA, THE DIRGEN ARGUED, ALTHOUGH KIM IL SUNG IS CONVINCED THAT PARK IS NOT WILLING TO CARRY ON GENUINE DIALOGUE, NORTH KOREANS BELIEVE THAT TIME IS ON THEIR SIDE AND PARK WILL FALL EVENTUALLY DUE TO HIS GENERAL UNPOPULARITY. KIM, HE SAID, WOULD BE UNWILLING TO RISK DESTRUCTION OF CAREFULLY BUILT-UP NORTH KOREAN ECONOMY AND WOULD GET NO ENCOURAGEMENT FRM CHINESE FOR ATTACK ON SOUTH. ZAMAN ARGUED THAT PRC WOULD NOT EMBARK ON FOCIBLE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN FOR SIMILAR REASONS.

B. GOP PROBABLY SEES NO CHANGE IN THE COMPARATIVE STRENGTHS OF USSR, U.S. AND PRC IN SOUTH ASIA AS RESULT OF INDO-CHINA EVENTS EXCEPT FOR FACTOR OF ENHANCED CHINESE IMAGE. (BHUTTO HAS WARNED HIS NEIGHBORS TO SEE THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL AND IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONS WITH CHINA.) GOP RELATIONS WITH TWO COMMUNIST POWERS LIKELY TO REMAIN UNCHANGED. WHILE GOP LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO WORRY ABOUT WHAT PRESSURES USSR CAN BRING TO BEAR TO FORCE PAK ACCEPTANCE OF ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL, SO LONG AS THAT REMAINS UNACCEPTABLE TO CHINESE THE GOP IS UNLIKELY TO CAPITULATE. WE SEE NO CHANGE IN GOP PLANS FOR MILITARY SUPPLY OR IN NUCLEAR POLICIES, BUT ONLY A CONTINUATION OF PREVIOUS

EFFORTS TO IMPROVE QUALITY OF PAK DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

C. WE SEE NOT CHANGE IN PROSPECT FOR BILATERAL RELATIONS IN SOUTH ASIA NOR IN GROWTH OF REGIONALISM AS RESULT OF EVENTS IN INDO-CHINA. SOUTH ASIA IS STILL TROUBLED BY RIVALRIES WHICH FALL SHORT OF CONFRONTATION. GOP AND GOI, SPONSORS RESPECTIELY, OF PROPOSALS FOR SOUTH ASIA NUCLEAR FREE ZONE AND INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE SHOULD HAVE NO REASON TO ALTER PROPOSALS AS RESULT OF CHANGES IN SEA.

D. GOP INTEREST IN EXTRA-REGIONAL BLOCKS SHOULD NOT CHANGE AS RESULT OF INDO-CHINA EVENTS. IT IS EXCLUDED FROM NON-ALIGNED CLUB BECAUSE OF CENTO; IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN ACTIVE IN AFRO-ASIAN, TIRD WORLD FORUMS. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN GOP GIVE SUPPOT TO GRUNK AND NOW PRG MEMBERSHIP IN UN FORUMS.

E. GOP EXPECTS TO HAVE CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH NEW INDO-CHINESE GOVERNMENTS. PAKS BELIEVE THEY HAVE GOOD CONFIDENTIAL

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CREDENTIALS AS AN EARLY SUPPORTER OF COMMUNIST CHINA AND CRITIC OF AMERICAN VIETNAM POLICY. GOP IS LIKELY TO BE RESPONSIVE TO PRC INTERESTS IN INDO-CHINA. REFTEL POINTS OUT ONE POSSIBLE NEW AREA OF IRRITATION IN GOP/U.S. RELATIONS: TRADE TO NORTH VIETNAM. LAST WINTER, PROPOSED GOP-SPONSORED SALE OF OVER MILLION DOLLARS OF PAK COTTON YARN WAS DROPPED AS RESULT OF U.S. OBJECTIONS. GOP MAY POSSIBLY WISH TO EXPAND ITS TRADE TO VIETNAM WHICH COULD ENDANGER ITS PURCHASES UNDER CURRENT PROVISIONS PL-480 LEGISLATION. MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL PREDICTED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WOULD NOT ARISE AND THAT LAST YEAR'S PROPOSAL WAS BASED ON TEMPORARY GLUT HERE OF COTTON YARN. PAK SUPPORT TO INDO-CHINESE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS WILL CONTINUE TO BE IRRITANT IN PAK/U.S. RELATIONS. GOP IS UNLIKELY TO CONCERN ITSELF WITH INDO-CHINESE MEMBERSHIP IN NON-ALIGNED GROUP WHICH IT ENVIES, YET RIDICULES SO LONG AS PAKISTAN IS ITSELF SHUT OUT.

F. GOP FUTURE ROLE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR. IT IS LIKELY PAKS EXPECT THAT DUE TO THEIR LONG-HELD POLITICAL POSITION ON INDO-CHINA AND TO THEIR CLOSE RELATIONS WITH PRC THEIR RELATIONS WITH NEW INDO-CHINESE GOVERNMENTS WILL BE COOPERATIVE AND THAT SOME OF ADDITIONAL STATUE GAINEDBY CHINESE WILL RUB OFF ON GOP AND OTHER PRC-SUPPORTERS. SEA, HOWEVER, IS LOOKED AT AS BEING FAR AWAY, ALTHOUGH RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA ARE WARM. GOP TENDS TO CONCENTRATE ON INDI, THE MIDDLE EAST AND FURTHER WEST. SOUTH ASIAN-SOUTEAST ASIAN RELATIONS ARE ESSENTIALLYVIEWD IN CONTEXT OF BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, POLITICAL STABILITY, GOVERNMENT OVERTHROW, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, ISOLATIONISM
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ISLAMA04406
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750172-1149
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750546/aaaabpah.tel
Line Count: 276
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 STATE 107027
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18 JUN 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <22 OCT 2003 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: REPERCUSSIONS IN SOUTH ASIA OF EVENTS IN INDO-CHINA
TAGS: PFOR, XD, XC, PK, CH, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006